

A  
TRUE AND BRIEFE RELATION OF THE BLOODY BATTEL OF  
RIEVPFORT in FLANDERS, fought betwixt Prince MAURICE,  
of happy memory, and ALBERT Archduke of AUSTRIA,  
Vpon the second of Iuly 1600.  
Stilo Novo.

**T**He Enemies forces in the yeere of our Lord 1600. being weake, & in a mutinie, the States of the United Provinces seeing their affaires in disorder, took this advantage, & resolution to make an offensive Warre in Flanders, as the fittest place to annoy the Enemy most, & to secure their owne state, if they could recover the waile Towpes, which was the scope of their designe.

To this end, their Army was imbarqued in 2080. smack ships, with purpose to haue landed at Ostend, but comming into Zeeland, & finding the wind contrary, resolved to disimbarke their Armie vpon the Coast of Flanders, by a Port called *Phillippine*, lying vpon the river of the *Scheld*, where wee ranne our Vessels at a high Water (which for the most part were flat bottom'd) a ground, so that the ebb falling, wee lay on dry land, & with much ease and readinesse wee landed both our Horse and Foote.

Our Armie then being landed, it consisted of some twelue thousand foote, and 3000. Horse, which were divided into three *Tercias* commanded by three seuerall Chieffes. The first by *Count Ernest of Nassaw*, The second by *Count Solmes*, And the third by *Sir Francis Vere*, every one interchangeably taking their turnes evey day: namely, the *Avantguard* the *Bataille*, and the *Reere*.

*The Avantguard.*

The *Avantguard* was ordered thus, *Count Lewis of Nassaw*, brother vnto *Count Ernest*, led the *Avantguard* of the Horse, as beeing Lieutenant Generall, consisting of ten Corners of horse, namely, his owne troupe, the troupe of Prince *Maurice*, which were *Cuirassiers*, commanded by *Monsieur Walraven of Gent*, *Count Henry Frederick of Nassaw* his Excies brothers troupe, led by *Captaine Bernard*, all which made one division. The second division was commanded by *Monsieur Marcellus Baxx* with his owne Corner, & his Brother *Paul Baxxes*, and *Captaine Sales* brought vp the *Reere*, with these marched three troupes of *Carabines*, namely *Conteliers*, *Peter Pany*, and *Battenburghs*.

To the *Avantguard* of Horse were ioyned these foote Companies, to wit, *Prince Maurice his guard*, commanded then by *Captaine Aa*: *Count Hohenloes guard* led by his Lieutenant *Strydhorst*, & after these marched the Regiment of Generall *Francis Vere*, consisting of 13 English companies, his owne, *Captaine Taxleis Sariant Major*, *Capt. Deniffes*: *Capt. Daniel Veres*: *Capt. Honniwoods*: *Capt. Hammonds*: *Capt. Ogles*: *Capt. Tyrriels*: *Capt. Fairfaxes*: *Sr. Galistine Brockses*: *Capt. Foiters*: *Capt. Garnets*: and *Capt. Holcrofts*.

After these marched the Regiment of *Sr Horace Vere*: first his owne Company, then *Captaine Suttons*, *Sr Thomas Knolles*, *Capt. Purtons*, *Monfr. Cicils*, *Monfr. Morgans*, *Monfr. Metkercks*, *Capt. Scotts*, *Capt. Vavousours*, *Capt. de Gaines Hartwitscons*, and *Capt. Denbier*, making of both these Regiments 24 *Colours*, in all accounted to be some 1600 English.

Vnto the *Avantguard* were likewise ioyned the *Frizons* commanded by their Lieutenant Coronell *Iaco Hottinga*: as his owne company, The Baron of *Sideniscoes*: The company of *Iasper van Eussum*: *Capt. Michell Haghes*: *Capt. Grovestines*: *Capt. Osheimes*: *Capt. Hans de Frixe*: *Capt. Zagemans*: *Capt. Quirin de Blauws*: *Capt. Edzard Grovestines*: *Capt. Iohn Kieffs*: *Capt. Egbert Howens*: *Capt. Holsteyners*: *Capt. Assuernes*: *Capt. Garraat Schagesiniior*: *Capt. D. Arusmas*: & *Capt. Riperdaes*: making in all 17 Companies, so that the *Avantguard* consisted of forty foote Companies, over which *Sir Francis Vere* commanded in cheife,

*The Bataille.*

The *Bataille* was commanded by *Count George Edward of Solmes*: as first, his owne troupe of Horse, his brothers *Count Fredericks of Solmes*, the troupe of *Iosling Wierick Clouges*: and *Capt. Iohn Baxxes*, which made the first division of Horse. In the second division were these troupes following, as *Godrad de Bales*: *Sir Francis Veres*: commanded then by *Capt. Pembroke*, and *Sir Edward Cicils*: making together seven Corners.

Vnto

Vnto these horse troupes were ioyned these foote companies, the *Wallon*, or *new Genx* Regiment of Prince *Frederick Henry de Nassaw*; (now his Highnesse) commanded by Sir *Daniel Hertain* Lord of *Marquet* his Lieutenant Coronell, with which regiment Prince *Henries* own company Marched. Capt. *de Bouts*: Capt. *Anthony Saucies*: Capt. *Francis Marleis*: Capt. *Francis Mareschals*: Capt. *Philips de la Loue*: Capt. *Nimmeries*: Capt. *Jonas Durands*: & Capt. *Gabriel de Nouvelles*: making together 9. companies, to these also were ioyned the foure *Swissers* companies, to wit, Capt. *Hans Kriecks de Ballichom*: Capt. *Hans Sas van Vanderwals*: Capt. *Hans Meyer of Zurich*: and Capt. *William de Passy*.

The Battaille likewise consisted of two divisions of French: The first was commanded by *Monsieur de Dommerville*, Lieutenant Coronell to *Monsieur de la Noue*, in which were his owne Company, *Monsieur de Roqueses*, and Capt. *du Saliz*.

In the second division were the companies of Capt. *Simendrie*: *Mareschats*: *Hamlets*: Capt. *Bruse de Corimers*, led by his Lieutenant, who was shot before *Albertus Fort*. The Companies of *Monsieur du Fort*, *de Formentiers*, *de Yereville*: & *Du Pont Auberts*: making together twelue Companies: In the midst whereof Prince *Maurice* was himselfe to give order every where, accompanied with his brother Prince *Frederick Henry de Nassaw*: and divers other Lords: namely, *John Adolph Duke of Holfeyn*, *John Ernests* Prince of *Anhalt*, three Counts of *Solmes*, namely, Count *Frederick*, Count *Albert Otto*, and Count *Henry William Solmes*, Count *de Colligny* Lord of *Chastillon*, nephew to that famous Admirall of France, the Lord *Gray*, *Sr Robert Drury*, the Lord *Insius de Nassaw*, with many other brave *Volunteers* & *English* gentlemen of quality, *French*, & *Germans*, who attended the Princes person the whole Battaille then consisted of 7 troupes of Horse, and 25 companies of foote.

#### *The Reere.*

The Reere was commanded by *Monf. Oliver Temple*, Lord of *Corbeke*, Sariant Maiour Generall, & consisted of three Cornets of Horse, namely, Capt. *Wernard de Boiss*: Capt. *Hameltons*: and *Monsieur Conteliers* troupe, over which *Monsieur Boiss* commanded.

There was in the Reere also three battalions of Foote, to wit, the Regiment of Count *Ernest of Nassaw*, (who commanded this *Tercia*) his owne Company, Capt. *Hufemans*, Capt. *Nassaws*: Capt. *Imbizes*: Capt. *Cotwitz*: Capt. *Balthasars*: Capt. *Effums*, Capt. *Pithans*, The old company of Count *Ernest*: Capt. *Crimwitz*: Capt. *Breeds*: *Lucas Neufars*: and Capt. *George Weckerlies*: this made the first division, and consisted of 13 Collours.

In the second division were the Lord of *Gistelles* his company Coronell, The company of *George Edward* Count *Solmes*, Capt. *Irelons*: Capt. *Freboughs*: Capt. *Ammonvillers*: Capt. *Longfeld*, Capt. *Ruffies*: and Capt. *Flores de Winegarden*.

In the third division, there was the Regiment of Corönel *Huchtenbrooke* his company Coronel, *Monsieur Temples* company, Capt. *Marlin*: Capt. *Dederick de longs*: Capt. *Ruysembourghs*: capt. *John Loones*: & capt. *Calverts*: making in all 3 troupes of Horse, & 26 foote companies, & thus the Armie was ordered into the Avantgard, the Battaille, & the Reere, the day wherein the Battell was fought.

The Archdukes Armie consisted of 19 Cornets of Horse, with his owne troupe, Commanded by *Don Roderigo de Lafo*, & were al *Lanciers*, but only one troupe of *Harquebusiers*, as namely, the *Admirant of Arragon* his troupe, *Don Iuan de Braccamontos*, *Don Iuan de Silvas*: *Don Phillepaos de Arrelanos*: *Don Ferdinando de Guayaras*: *Don Guillielmos de Verdugos*, *il Conte Giacomo Belgiosos*, *il Cavelloro Vicontes*: and *Carolos de Sangros*: all *Lanciers*: *il Conte de Salines*, *Capitano Ryferbey*: *Capitano de Forests Curassiers*, *Michel de Teller*: *Ian van Cepases*: *Nicolas de Bher*: and *Captaine Franasco de Royes* to which were ioyned 600 horse more, that had mutined at *Diest*, making in all some 25 hundred Horsemen.

The Enemies Battailions of Foote consisted of three Spanish Regiments, under the command of *Don Ieronimo de Monroy*: *Don Iasser de Sapeñas*, and *Don Lewes de Villars* Regiments. There were also two Italian Regiments, vnder the Conduct of *Don Alphonso de Avillos*. The two regiments of the Count of *Bucquoy*, as that of *Burlottes*: and *Bestocks* the Count *de Bucquoy* commanding the reere, divers other companies drawne out of the regiments of Count *Frederick vander Berke*: The *Marquese of Varrabons*, the Earle of *Barlamonts* The Lord of *Archicourt*, *Balanfons*, and others.

Their army consisted of some 15 thousand foot, and 25 hundred horse, besides their Mutiniers

Mutiniers, all old and experienced souldiers, and were also divided into three *Brigades*, as the *Avantgarde*, the *Battall*, and the *Rere*, as the two figures following here vnto annexed shall Demonstrate.

Now before the Armies mett, it was consulted wherein the Armie should be first employed, either in taking the *Fort*, which the Ennemie held in the lowe, and broken grounds about *Ostend*, or in the seige of *Nieuport*: the latter being resolved vpon the States (who had all this while marched, and abode with the Armie) departed to *Ostend*, to take the *Fort Albertus*, and to open the passage betweene that Towne and *Nieuport*: Prince *Maurice* with the rest of the Armie, leaving the *Fort of Ouldenbourg*, & the others, which the Ennemie had forsaken well guarded, as behouefull (because without forcing them, the Ennemy could not come vnto vs, but with fetching a great compasse) marched by *Hemskerck*, towards a *Fort* called the *Damme*, lying vpon the River that goeth to *Nieuport*, but finding the Countrie weake, and Moorish, and not able to carry the weight of our Carriages, and Artillerie, returned by a small village not farre from *Hemskerck*, and lodged there, thence crossed through the Meddowes towards the sea side, filling many ditches, & laying bridges to passe over the waters, whereof that Countrie is full, and so with much adoe wee got to the *Downes* by the sea side, and encamped about a Canon shott from the *Fort Albertus*, which was before rendred vp to *Count Solmes*. Early in the morning wee marched along the sea side towards *Nieuport*. And at the ebbe waded over the river on that side, which maketh the Haven of that Towne, and so encamped there, and spent two or three daies in quartering, and entrenching our selves in places of advantage, for our owne safetie, and the beseiging of the Towne, laying a stone-bridge over the narrowest of the Haven for our Carriages, and troupes to passe too and fro at all times, & as occasion requiied. The Archduke having vnderstood that his Excie. was sett downe before *Nieuport* gathered a head, and marched with all expedition with his Armie towards the *Downes*, passing the very same waye, which his Excie. did, that he might the soner relieue *Nieuport*. In the meane time his Excie. was advertized from those of *Ostend*, and *Ouldenbourg*, that the Ennemy with good troupes of horse and foote, were come and lodged neere the *Fort*, wherevpon consulting, the opinions were diuerse, most of them agreeing, that it was onely a *Bravado* made by *Ribus*, who as wee heard before had gottē vp in the land some 4000 men together neere vnto *Sluce*, to divert vs from our enterprize, and that then vpon our Remouall towards him, he would make his retreat to the *Sluce* againe. But *Sr Francis Vere* was of the opinion, that it was the grosse of their Armie, and how it was very needefull, without any delay, to march thetherwards with our Armie also, least the *Fort*, & the rest fell into the Ennemies hands, who might then come and lodge at our backs, & cut of our passage to *Ostend* to the extreame annoyance of our Armie: That in vsing diligence to prevent the Ennemie frō taking these *Fortes*, wee might at once block vp, & beseige those which the Ennemy held in the lowe & drowned lands, being an *Enterprize* equall with that of *Nieuport*. While these things were thus a disputing that night came Messenger vpon Messenger to the Prince to give him to vnderstand, first that the Ennemy had Cannon & that those of the *Fort* were summoned in the Archdukes name & afterward it was yeelded to him vpon conditions. Thrice that night vpon general & false alarms, *Sr Francis Vere* was called vp from his rest, which confirmed him in his former opinion, that the Ennemie was coming towards vs, and that the *Fort* being yeelded into the Ennemies hands, it was needfull, that the whole Armie with all speede should returne over the water, to stop the Ennemy, from gayning the passage, our selues had made through the drowne land, and to possesse the same, which was the shortest, and the readiest waye the Ennemie had to the *Downes* and sea side. These reasons (of *Sr Francis Veres*) his Excie. liked not, but resolving to foreflow the Ennemie, as much as possibly might bee, that hee might gaine the more time: & therefore the second of Iuly at the breake of the day he sent from the Armie before *Nieuport*, his Nephew & Cousen *Count Ernest of Nassaw*, with two Regiments of foote, the one *Schots*, the other *Zealanders* with foure troupes of horse, making some 2000 footemen, & 500 horse, with some Ordnance & materials, to entrench vpon the passage, vnto whome the States sent out also, according to his Excies order,

some companies out of the garnison of *Ostend*, and those which came out of the Forts of *Oldendborg*, *Plofendale* and *Bredene*, to hinder the Ennemie from passing the Bridges, which laye over certaine waters vpon the waye, as you goe toward the Fort *Albertus*, the Prince saying he would followe, & second them with the rest of the Armie in due times.

But before they came thither, the Ennemy had seized vpon those Bridges, and having passed over them with the choise of his Armie, it was impossible for so small a number to hold vp & stopp the Ennemies passage towards the *Dunnes*; the afore said Regiments being engaged in fight with the Ennemie, & finding themselves too weake, to resist any longer so puissant an Armie, after they had brauely defended themselves, and carryed themselves like good Souldiers, were at last put to flight, the most lost falling then vpon the Scotch; aswell vpon their chieffes, & Captaines, as Gentlemen, and private Souldiers, who fought it out stoutly: soo that there were slaine about 800. dead vpon the place, amongst the which, there were cleuen Captaines many Lieutenants and Officers. The Arch-duke having gott this Victorie, wrote to *Brugges* that he had overthrowne the *Avant-gard* of Prince *Maurice*, and that he was so farre engaged with the rest of his Armie, that they could not escape out of his hands: in so much, that this day they began to triumph at *Brugges*, and the adiacent Townes in ringing their bells, as though they had gayned already the Victorie.

Now the newes of this defeate put the Lords the States into a great perplexity, considering what a danger the countrie was in, if any mis fortune should happen to our Armie which laye before *Nieuport*, and encamped on both sides of the Haven, the Souldiers being separated one from an other, which droue them into a great feare. And therefore being in such an extremitie, when all humaine meanes failed them, they tooke their refuge to the Lord of Hosts by prayes and assembled themselves; and all their traine with diuerse Officers and people of the Towne of *Ostend* into their chambers where their Minister *Vienbogart* made prayers vnto God for the preservation of the person of his Excie, the Lords, Chieffes and Commandours, which were with him, yea the whole Army, that God would be pleased to give them a happie successe.

The Archduke being encouraged with this advantage, and defeate, which he gott so quickly over our men, marched in all hast towards *Nieuport*, imagining to finde his Excie and all his Army so amazed by this overthrow, that he might easely put our men to route: But God had his eye of providence vpon the State of these Countries, and the defense of his Church in them, giving his Excie such wisdom, that he commanded away all the shipping, & boates from *Nieuport* towards *Ostend*, & with all gave order that all his troupes should be ready to passe the Havē of *Nieuport* at a lowe water, to gett on the other side, with a couragious resolution, to make head against the Ennemy, & to give him battell, according to which his Excie went from troupe to troupe to animate and encourage his Souldiers. That seeing they had the sea on the one side, and the Ennemies Armie on the other side betwixt them, and saw that there was now noe meanes in the world to escape, but to fight it out and beate through their Armie; considering that his Excies reputation depended thereon, yea all their honours, their lines and the good of the countrie lay now all the stake, & that now they would carry themselves brauely & couragiously, with assurance that God would give them a blessed issue. The like also did all the chieffes, Commanders & Captaines to there Souldiers. Prince *Henry* (now his highnesse) did likewise encourage also his *Wallons*, or new *Genx*, being of his Regiment to doe the like.

The rest of the Armie was commanded to march to the water side by the breake of day to passe over the Haven with the first ebbe, being then Sr Francis Veres his turne to have the *Avant-gard*, which made him carefull not to be wanting in his duty, so as in due time his troupes were at the place appointed, and because the water was not yet passable, he went to his Excie to know his further pleasure, whome he found by the bridge with most of the chieffes & Officers of the Armie, where not longe after, newes was brought him, that the Ennemies Armie was passing the *Dunnes*, and marching towards vs, wherevpon Sr Francis Vere advised his Excie that all possible speede must be vsed to passe the Furs be-

fore the Enemy was possessed of the other side of the Haven. His Excie willed him in all things to doe as he saw cause, and calling to him *Count Lodowick of Nassau* (who then commanded the Horse as Generall) badd him goe along with *Sr Francis Vere*, and follow his directions, so *Sr Francis Vere* left the Prince, and went to his troups, and as soone as the tyde served he passed his men, which stood there in three *Battailions*. The Souldiers would have stripped themselves to have kept their cloaths drie, as *Sr Francis Vere* willed them when he crossed the haven first, but afterward thought it not expedient, the Ennemie being so nere at hand, and therefore he willed them to keepe their cloaths on, and not to care for wetting them: seeing they should neede none that day or else haue better and dryer cloaths to sleepe in that night.

*Count Lodowick* passed first with his fine *Cornets* of Horse, whereof two of them were *Murquebuffets*, and advanced towards the Ennemie, and enterayned skirmish with two of the Ennemies troups, and then followed all the rest, which were scare gott over on the other side of the shore, but they saw the Ennemie stand in full *Battle*, betwene them and *Ossend*: in so much that if the Ennemie had but advanced, he might have prevented his Excie from passing his foote over the haven. Now the Ennemy not knowing how many of our men were passed over the haven, because of the great dust, which arose and blinded their sight, made a halte a long time by the sea shoare, which gave his Excie time & leisure to passe over the *English & Frize* Regiments, with his Excie guard, & *Count Hobenloes*, all commanded by *Sr Francis Vere*. Then followed the *French* Regiments, the *Wallones*, & *Swissers*, which made the *Battail* (as is said) commanded by *Count George Everard of Solmes*, and after them almost all the rest of the horse. The Regiment of *Count Ernst*, *Giselles*, & *Hochtenbrookes* made the *Retre*. The Regiments of *Giselles*, and *Vienbrooke*, which were vnder the Conduct of *Count George Everard of Solmes*, were left before the Towne of *Nieuport*, to block it vp, with charge to stand vpon their guards, and vpon his Excies first order, to be ready to passe over the bridge, which was made with boates, and planks ouer the haven of *Nieuport*: how the Armie was disposed into the *Vanguard*, *Battle* & *Retre*, as yow haue heard already. When the troups of the *Vanguard* were passed *Sr Francis Vere* left the footemen standing ranged in their order, betwixt the *Downes*, or *Sandhills* and the sea, and with the horse he advanced towards the Ennemie, whome wee discovered, a parte of coming towards vs alonge the sea side, not to engage a skirmish, or fight, but to choose a fit place to attend them in, which was now the onely advantage wee could by industrie gett of the Ennemie: for by situation of the Countrie, that skill and dexterity wee presumed to exceede our Ennemies in (which was the apt agile motion of our *Battailions*) was viterlie taken from vs: for the space betwixt the sea, and the *Sandhills*, or *Downes*, was commanded by the *Sandhills*, which consisted of many heads, reared and commanding one an other, conteyning so much breadth in most places, that our troups could not occupie the whole, and every where so confusedly packed together, so broken, & sleepe, that our troups could neither discouer what was done a stones cast before them, nor advance forward in any order to second one another if neede required. And on the other side of the *Downes* towards the firme land, if the whole breadth were not possessed, the Ennemy might passe to the Haven of *Nieuport*, where our bridge, and most of our shipping yet lay on the dry ground, and so to spoyle and burne them in our view. To prevent then all these inconveniences, *Sr Francis Vere* went to finde out a place, where the hills, and *Downes* stood in a manner divided, with a hollow bottome narrow and the hills higher to the sea side, & North, then towards the land, & South part, which ranne cleane thwart from the sea side to the land, the *Downes* being there also of no great breadth, so that wee might conveniently decupie the with our front, & command the sea shoare, and the waye that laye betwixt the lowe land, & the foote of the *Downes* on that place which was on the higher side of the bottome, *Sr Francis Vere* resolved to attend the Ennemy there, and therefore causing his troups to advance, drew from the whole *Vanguard* about a 1000 men, to wit 300 *English*, the Princes guard, & such other companies as usually march with it, 250 and of the *Prisons* 500. which were muskettiers, two troups consisting of short, and pikes, the *English* and 30 of his Excies guard they la-

ced on the topp of the hill that lay more advanced then the rest, which being steepe, and sandie was not easely to be encountred, & in the topp so hollowe, that the men laye covered from the hills on the other side, & might shoote from it, as from a *Bulwarke*.

Iust behinde this hill some 100 paces frō it, was another farre more higher, on the toppe, whereof *St Francis Vere* placed 200 men of the troupe of the gard, in which also (with a litle labour of the Souldiers,) they laye in a good covert, these two hills ioyned together with a ridge somewhat lower then the foremost hill, which endwaies laye East, and West, and broadwaies looked towards the South, and Inlands, and commaunded all the ground passable, on the outside, steepe, loose, & sandie & ill to be encountred, within the hollow he placed 500 Muskettiers, giving charge to the Officers to bestowe their shot onely to the Southwards, when time should serue, which was directly on the right side, and flanke as wee then stood turned towards the Ennemie. Berwixt these two hills on the left hand or flanke, which looked towards the sea, *St Francis Vere* placed 700 men in covert places for that purpose to be neere the sea sand, that with ease, and good order in an instant, they might breake out into two or foure troupes all which were English.

The Ennemie ranged their forces to the Northwards, directly on our left flanke, & so they adventured to passe by vs to the other troupes, with intent to leaue them in his eye more Easterly vpon the sands, then on the Inermost of the two hills, which *St Francis Vere* perceiving, ranged in a Front (with a space betwixt them) the other two troupes of the English. And a pretty distance behinde them, more to the sea-wards ordered the *Frizons* in foure *Battaillions*, two in front with a space to receiue betwixt them one of the other *Battaillions*, that stood behinde them. And the files & intervals behinde the troupes, as close one to another as conveniently might bee, to leaue the more space for the ranging of the other *Battaillions* with a compitent distance betweene each division: so that one troupe might not shadow another, but that all of them might be in the Ennemies eye in an instant: infomuch that the *Avantgard* tooke vp about one third part of the Downes, leaving therest to be manned by the other troupes, as occasion should require, & on the left hand & the outtermost towards the sea more advanced, were the horsemen placed. This worke was scare done, when as his Excie Prince *Maurice* with the rest of the chiefs, & Commandours of the Armie came to the head of *St Francis Veres* troupes, where his Excie in the hearing of many putt it in deliberation, whether he should advance towards the Ennemie with his Armie, or attend their comming. Those that spake (as most men in those cases will not seeme scarefull) councelled him to march forwards: for they thought it would daunte the Ennemie much, & make the Victorie more easie, whereas in attending him, he would gather courage out of an opinion of our feare by takeing the oppertunity of our Raye, to fortifie vpon our passage to *Ostend*, & so cut of our victuals & retreat. Herevpon, *St Francis Vere* alledged, that their Armie having bene gathered vp in hast, & brought into a Countrie, where they intended noe such warre, could neither haue provisiōs of victuals with it, nor any *Magazines* in those parts to furnish them therewith, nor any store in that naked Countrie in the latter end of a yeare could be expected: soo that there was noe feare, that they should settle themselues there, to starue vs, who had store of victuals in our shipping, & the sea open to supply vs with all sailing windes, with the vaine courage they should gett by our supposed feare, after a longe march, & comming vpon vs downe those sandie steepe-hills in the extremitie of heate would be wearied, & spent before they could come vnto vs, & then finding vs fresh & lustie, ready to receiue them in the strength of our advantage, in all reason it would turne to their greater confusion & terrour. They persisted (in their opinion) & as it were with one voice opposed it: so as in the end (*St Francis Vere*) was moved to saie, that all the world could not make him to change his opinion: His Excie was pleased to like of it, resolving not to passe any further towards the Ennemy, & for the ordering of things reposed so much trust in *St Francis Vere*, that he beleueed they should be well done, without viewing the places, or examining the reason of his doings. But his Excie returned to giue order, & dispose of the rest of the Armie, which as the water ebbed, his Excie enlarged to the Seawards, next the which the Horsemen were placed, & six peeces of Ordinance advanced, planted in the head of the *Avantgard*, having the advantage both of the winde, & the Sunne on our side, & gave order to *Monf Warmoni*, & *Monf Duvenvord*, that they from our men of warr, should giue fire with their Ordinance vpon the Ennemies *Battaillions*, that stood vpon the strand. In this order wee stayed, & the Ennemie

(though stil in our sight) moved not forwards for the space of two howers, & then (rather turning from vs the advancing) they crossed the *Downes*, & rested there two howers at the foote of the lland, which confirmed their opinions, that he would lodge there. But wee found reasons to the contrarie out of their proceedings to keepe vs from wavering: for it was probable, that the Ennemie was harried out, & tyred with that nights march & daies travell. And seing wee were passed the Haven of *Nieuport* (to haue hindred, or prevented vs, was the greatest cause of his hast) whilst also he saw vs stirring, & ordering our troups he might hope, that wee that were fresh, now passed & engaged in fight, would advance the rather, to have the helpe of our troups which were with *Count Ernest*, if perchance he were retyred to *Ossend*, towards which the neerer wee were to fight to that place, it might be of more advantage vnto vs, or else if wee had heard of their defeate, then wee might be drawne on to revenge. But when he sawe that wee stood & held our place, not moving out of the hope, that they were not provided to make any longe staye, for the reasons before mentioned, & might resolute to refresh themselves a litle & then to advance towards vs: seing that side was for that purpose more advantagious, then the bare sea sands & withal wee considered, that they made a halt to rest their footemen (which were all ould exercised Souldiers, & to that daye vnfoiled in the feild) they would attend rather the growing of the tyde, which was then at the lowest ebb, that the scopes of the sand might be lesse spacious & seruisable for Horsemen. Now about halfe floude, they crossed the *Downes* againe to the sea sands, & marched forwards, sending some light horsemen farre before the troups to discover, one of which (as wee supposed) suffered himselfe to be takē, who brought newes to his Excie, & tould him alone that *Count Ernest* was defeated, and that he would presently giue him battaile, augmenting the number, braverie, & resolutiōs of their mē. The losse of our men being vnderstood before, wee were carefull to haue few present at the hearing of this prisoners report, whose mouth being stopped by the Princes order, not with stāding they hearing it bewrayed it, both in word & countenance to the souldiers.

The Ennemie advancing neerer, & neerer their Horsemen came in the head of their trouppes in a compitent distance, to haue bene drawne to a fight, *Sr Francis Vere* would willingly haue advanced the Horsemen of our *Vanigard* neere vnto them, & with some choise & well mounted men, haue beaten in their *Carabines* & shirmishers to their grosse, with purpose if they had bene over charged againe to haue retyred in hast, with a sett *Avanigard* of Horse, betwixt the sea & the *Vaunigard* of foote, & having drawne them from their foote vnder the mercy of our Ordinance would haue engaged the rest of our horse, to haue charged, & followed them resolutely. This advise liked not to the young noblemen who was not well pleased with the power, which his Excie had giuen to *Sr Francis Vere* over this charge, & therefore was not by him putt in execution, who choose rather as the Ennemie advanced leisurely: to retreat likewise towards our foote. This counsell of his takinge noe better effect, & the Horsemen nowe comming within the reach of our Cannon, *Sr Francis Vere* made the motion to haue them discharged, which was liked, & so well spent, that wee made the scatter their troups, in some disorder, & fly for safety, which had doubtlesse given vs the victorie, without any more adoe, if our Horsmen had bene ready & willing to haue taken the advantage of this occasion: Their footemen out of our reach kept on their way alongst the sands, & the soner to requite vs, advanced their Ordinance a good distance before them, and shot roundly at vs, and did some hurt. The water now growing very high, wee & they were both forced to strengthen our *Front*, & the Ennemie of purpose, as aforesaid was driuen to fight vpon *Sr Francis Veres* advantage, which he tooke with his foote, in drawing them into the *Downes*, where all our Horse stood with our *Reere*, here vpon our *Avanigard* altering order, our *Battaile*, and *Reere* passed into the *Downes*, & in the same distance backwards, as they had before raunged themselves vpon the sand on the left hand, so as the front of our three bodies of foote, filled the bredth of the *Downes*, not in any large front, but in the reere one of another as the narrowness of the passage enforced the where *Sr Francis Vere* found a fitt place, on the topp of a hill, from whence the Greene waye which lay on the Greene side of the *Downes* might be commanded by our Ordinance, vpon the which hill (by his Excies order) two demy-Canons were presently mounted.

The Ennemy drawing very neere, then *Sr Francis Vere* tould the Prince it was nowe time for him to goe to his charge, and asked his Excie, if he would command him any

further service, he said noe, but to doe as he saw cause, willing vs the chieftes that stood about him, to advise him in what part of the Armie he should be personally, wherevnto wee all answered, that for many reasons, he was to keepe in the Reere, all which his Excie yielded to. And so *St Francis Vere* taking his leue of the Prince, he went into the head of the *Avantgard*, and after he had viewed the readinesse, and order of the severall troupes, the Ennemy now appearing at hand, that he might the better discouuer their proceedings, and for the readiest execution of his commands vpon all occasions *St Francis Vere* after he had encouraged his men, in abyding the first brunte, tooke his place in the topp of the foremost hill before mentioned, where he resolved to attend the issue of that daies service, as well for the advantage of the ground he had chosē there to stand vpon his defense, as also because it was an even ground, where he might stirre from place to place (as is vsually and necessarily) for the executing, and performing the duty of a Captaine, where the Countreie lying open and plaine, he should not onely haue the sight of the Ennemie (vpon whose motions in such cases the Councill of execution depend) but also the view of his troupes, and they of him, which might haue caused many vnrasonable, and confused Commaunds, if it had bene otherwise.

The Ennemies *forlorne hope* of *Harquebusers*, having gotten vp, to the topp of the hills, and places of most advantage on the other side of the bottome before mentioned, began to shooie from thence at vs, whilst our *Avantgard* approched, who now growing neere at hand, five hundred *Spaniards* Pikes, and short mingled without Ensignes, or precise order gaue on vpon the place where *St Francis Vere* stood and very stoutly for the space of a great halfe hower, labouring to enter, and force it, but he succoured it with more store of shott from the topps of the hills. The grosse of their *Avantgard* standing in some covert from the shott, which flew from *St Francis Veres* troupes on the other side of the bottome. In the meane time, the Vautgard of the Ennemies horse advanced alonge the greeneway so often mentioned, betwixt the hills & the Downes towards our horse, that stood more backwards vpo the flanks of our Battell, wherevpon our two peeces of Ordinance were discharged from the topp of the hill to good effect, and well spent, and when they came neere and thwart our right flank, the 300 Frizons Muskieniers, who (as is said) before were onely desired to bestowe their shott that way, did their parts, and so gauled the Ennemie vpon the first proffer of a charge.

For the Prince seeing the Ennemies horse advance, commanded presently *Count Lodwick* to charge them, namely, with his Excies owne troupe, *Prince Henriess* and *Count Lodwijcks*, who being seconded by these Horse Capitaines *Murvelis Bux*, *Paul Bux*, and *Monfieur La Saut* their troupes, (as you maye see in the figure) brake the Ennemies horse, and putt them to a disorderly retreat. After this the Battell began on all sides, and the Ordinance from both sides played furiously one vpon an other. The fight from the first beginning to the end of the Battaille continewd, not onely in the Downes, but also vpon the shire of the Downes, and in the bottome on the other side of them with diuerse charges. And therefore his Excie diuided his men into small troupes and diuisions, that he might bring the more men to fight at a time, and to charge the Ennemie when occasion offered it selfe.

The fight growing hotter & hotter *St Francis Vere* giving two Regiments of *Spaniards* their bellie fulls, namely *Don Lewes de Villars*, and *Don Ieronimos de Mouroy*, beating their Muskettiers to a retreat. The Ennemie seeing that advanced both his Battell and his Reere, to bring them likewise to fight. His Excie perceiving our men thus engaged in the fight, caused also our Battell to advance, & gaue order to *Count George Everard of Solmes*, to lead it on, who with three French diuisions of Muskettiers charged two Regiments of *Spaniards* and *Italians*. The French Officers that led them on were these Capitaine *De Pay*, Capitaine *Du Brail*, *Monfieur La Nobe* his Lieutenant, Capitaine *Pommaride*, *Monfieur Dommeruille* his Lieutenant, Capt. *Vander Burch*, *Monfieur Du Forts* Lieutenant. The most of these came to handie blowes in the Downes, being the first charge which the French made.

After this first charge of the Battell, these Horse Capitaines, also namely *Contelher*, *Peter Pam*, and *Barrenburch* charged the Ennemies Foote, the Prince sending *Count Lodwijck* with sixe troupes of *Curassiers* to second them, being accompanied with *Count Frederijck*

*rijck of Solmes.* His Excie gave order againe that Count *George Edward of Solmes* should giue a second charge with the French, who had the *Avantgard* of our Battell, who were diuided into two troupes, that on the right hand, was led on by *Monsieur Dommerville* Lieutenant Coronell, and that on the left hand by *Captaine Sau.* This was the second charge the French made, who fought with a Battallion of the Ennemies Pikes, consisting of two Regiments, the one was a Spanish Regiment commaunded by *Dñ Alphonzo d'Aluador*, the other an Italian couducted by *Lassier Sapena Maestro del Campo.*

Count *George Everard of Solmes* retyring with these French, was once more commaunded by the Prince to leade on *Prince Henry of Nassau* his brothers the *Wallons* Regiment, called the new *Ceux*; commaunded then by his Lieutenant Coronell *Monsieur Warten,* the *Swisser* Regiment also commaunded by *Hans Krick* went on with them, and fought stoutly doeing good service. These two Regiments encountred, and fought against *Basslotte*, & the Count *de Bucquoy*, who commaunded the Ennemies *Reere guard*, which consisted of three *Walloon* Regiments, and some Irish Companies. His Excie likewise commaunded *Monsieur de Gisselles*, being of our *Arreergard* to goe on with his Regiment, as also the Regiments of Coronell *Hucklenbrooke*, & that of Count *Ernst*, commaunded by *Monsieur Haysman* his Lieutenant Coronell with these five Regiments; Count *George Everard Solmes* charged the Ennemie as aboue said. This fight lasted about three howers longe, the Victorie being doubtfull on both sides, sometimes the one side winning, and otherwhiles the other side loosing ground. The Princes Horse in charging the Ennemie putt them often to the worst of it, & our horse had continuall the advantage vpon them, driving some of them to a retreare as far as *Nieuport.* The Ennemies foote fought with more advantage vpon the Downes then ours, & made the Princes men to quit on downe after an other: so that our Ordinance was in hazard of loosing.

To retorne againe to our *Avantgard*, *St Francis Vere* gave order that a hundred men should be sent fro the foremost troupes, which he had layd (as is aforesaid) in the Downes, to haue given on vpon the left flanke of the Ennemie, if they had attempted to passe by vs on the Sand, and as covertly as they could to approch and fall on, vpon the right flanke of those that were in fight with him, when they were come vp, and at hand nere the Ennemie, he sent secretly by the hills (where there was a hollow discent) some sixty men more to charge them in their front, which amazed the Ennemie much, and made them run away, our men following them charged and killed them, till they had passed the bottome, and came to their gosse, from which they disbandied 300 *Spaynards* more (the like number as before) who followed our men, and seized vpon some heights that were in the bottome some what neere vnto vs. Their Pikes standing vnder the shaddow of the hills, they played with their shott from the topp of them vpon our disbanded and skirmishing men. *St Francis Vere* to driue them from thence, being loath they should gaine ground vpon him, sent more men out of the same by-waies, from whence he had drawne the first before mentioned, giuing then onely this order, to make good that place. This was a bloodie morfell, which wee stroue for: For whilest our men, and theirs were not covered with the hanging of the hills, as they advanced, or wee chased, so they lay open to the shott, not onely of those that were possessed of those litle Hills, but of the higher also who powred in a great tempest of shott amongst the: so as these Souldiers which *St Francis Vere* had sent, hasted for their safety to get the heath side of the hills. The Ennemie also for the like reason abode their comming with the like resolution, and so in a moment as the hills were rounde and mountable, our men can to handie blowes vpon the whole *demy Circle* of them, with much slaughter on both sides: but in the end the Ennemie was forced to retire. In the meane while, the Ennemies Battaille of foote were come vp to the grosse of their *Avantgard*, which as it had taken the right hand of the Downes, so the battaille with some distances betwixt them (though in an euen front) having bene well gauld and beaten with our shott, from the topp of the hills, stood all in good covert as the place would afford, fro whence they sent fresh men to beate ours from those grounds of advantage in the bottome. As our men began to giue back *St Francis Vere* sent new supplies to make good that place in the bottome: sometimes getting otherwiles loosing

of ground. The fight was still mainteyned with fresh supplies on both sides, so that *Sr Francis Vere* perceiued (though with the losse of men) yet with this advantage of ground he did not onely beate vpon the *grosse* of the Ennemie, but also gaue fire vpon their loose fighting men, which made the losse farre greater on the Ennemies side, his maine desaigne being so, as to engage their whole force vpon his handfull of men, made him employ his men sparingly, and by peece meale of purpose, to spend and wast the Ennemie (that they should not be able to abide the sight of our other troupes) when they advanced (as is said) the Horsemen of the Ennemies *Battaile*, and ours encountred together, but somewhat more advanced towards the Ennemie. Our men having comfort with the first successe our *Frixon* Muskettiers before mentioned, could not so well fauour our men, but our Horsemen being putt to a retreat, the Ennemie persuing them, yet were so saluted by our men that they were driven back. The Ennemies *Rearward* now coming vp, with the two other boddies (for so *Sr Francis Vere* termed them, because their coullours remayned together) most of their men being drawne from them and engaged in fight, they attending their Ensignes, advanced boldly on the left hand of their *Battaile*, and spreading the bredth of the Downes, they stood as it were to *Sr Francis Vere* his troupes, rather on the corner of his right flanke, then a Front, and so fronted directly vpon his Excies *Battaile & Arregerard*, some Musket short behinde *Sr Francis Veres* troupes, towards which it seemed they intended to advance first, wee gaue fire to them, as much as wee could from the hills: but when they began to open vpon the *Frixon* Muskettiers, who (as is said before) were onely to bestow their short on our right side, & till that time had done noe service, but against their horse, the *Frixons* gauled the Ennemie exceedingly, which made the stopp suddenly as amazed or a shamed to giue back, seing none to chaze them in a bottome of so small a covert. Herevpon they sent out some *shirmushers* alongst the Southermost parts of the Downes: Against which also some loose men were sent from our other bodies: but our Muskettiers, which gaue fire vpon them standing, & short without feare from their rests gauled them most of all. The Horsemen of the *Reereguards* on both sides shewed themselves, and some bickering was betwixt them, but the Ennemies Horse retyred out of the footemens reach. This was a strange, and an vnusuall fight: For whereas commonly in a *Battaile* the successe of the foote depended most on that of the Horse: Here it was cleane contrarie, for so long as the foote held the place good, the Horse could not be beaten out of the feild (though as it fell out) they might be chazed to them.

All this while the fight without intermission continued hotter and hotter, betwixt the other two troupes of the Ennemie, and *Sr Francis Vere* his men, each sending fresh supplies, as occasion required to maintaine the fight, so that now the whole troupes of the English came to handie blowes in the afore said bottome, saving some few that were placed on the hills, & on the Ennemies side few were idle. Now was the time which *Sr Francis Vere* saw, to giue the Ennemie a deadly blowe his *grosse* being disbanded, as well in occupying places of the heath, as taking advantages to annoy vs, by those that were sent to dispute the places in question, for their onely strength consisted in their loose men, which a few Horse charging on a sudden in the bottome, would then haue putt them to flight, and being followed *pellmell* with our foote, they could neuer haue bin relieued, nor gathered themselves together againe. On the other side, *Sr Francis Vere* knew well (without further succour) their numbers would wearie, and eate out his men in the end. And therefore at once he sent to the *Frixon* Footemen, that were of the *Avantgard* to advance, and withall to his Excie to give him to vnderstand how things stood, desiring to send him part of the Horse of the Battell to second him. And seing the Ennemie pressed & gayned ground vpon his men, he sent againe messenger vpo messenger (for men & none coming he imputeth it to the slacknesse & neglect of the messengers.) In the Interim to give his me the more encouragement, he went himselfe into the bottome amongst them, where ryding vp & Downe, he did in their eyes, and with much adoe entertained fight with the though the Ennemie encroached and gott ground vpon him. At his first comming into the bottome he was short through his legge, and a quarter of an hower after, he gott another short through the thigh of the same legge, which he neuer complained of, nor so much as thought vpon a *Chirurgian*, for he knew if he left that place his men would iq-

stantly quaille, he therefore choose rather (not being vsed to haue his troupes foiled) to try the vitermost cast, and not to show them the way to flie, hoping still for the comming of the *Friscons*, and the Horse which he had sent for, but hast was so small, that his men being overlayd with numbers they forsooke the place, not withstanding he did his best endeavour to haue stayed them, halting along the Sands to our Cannon, & the Ennemie following them hard, he was forced seing them all goe to retreate he with the last came of easely and vnwillingly (God knoweth) & as he went his Horse fell dead vnder & vpon him, having neither Officels, Gentlemen, or servants about him to giue him any helpe, *Sr Robert Drurie* by chance came, and a Gentleman a servant of his called *Higham* (and *Sr John Ogle*) drew him from vnder his Horse, & sett him vp behinde his Master, which helpe came very seasonable for him, the Ennemie being so neere at hand, when he fell, and so by this meanes he was saued out of their clutches, from thence he rode to our *Ordnançe*, where finding his brother *Sr Horace Vere*, & most of the Officers that came thither with some 300 Foote, he made them stand from before the mouth of the *Ordnançe*, (which were laden with Musket Bullets) and willed the *Cannoniers* to discharge vpon the Ennemie, which swarmed now vpon the Sand, the Canon being discharged made a great slaughter and lane amonge the Ennemies Horse and Foote.

At the same instant his Excie sent two Cornets of Horse to him, namely, his owne commaunded by Captaine *Ball*, and *Generall Vere* his owne troupe commaunded by his Captaine *Pembroke*, who comming thither, he willed them to giue them a charge, and withall gaue order to his brother *Sr Horace Vere* to advance with his foote, and send the Ennemy packing. This small number of Horse and foote gathered together on a suddaine, gaue a great charge: for the Ennemie in hope of victorie followed vs cloffe, and being vpon the Sands, where horse might come to serue, they were soone routed, & cutt in peeces, the rest saved themselves by flight, as they could in the Downes. Our men both Horse and Foote followed them cloffe at the heeles. Their Battails where their Ensignes remayned, began then to stirre, & rouse vp themselves, rather for their defense, then to revenge their fellows for they advanced not a whitt. Our men from the topp of the hills (who had kept their places from the beginning) had by this meanes a faire marke to shoote at powred whole volleys of shott vpon them. Our English Officers and Souldiers on all hand, tooke new courage & came vp to fight, and their battailions being very small, & thinne, by reason of the men that had bin sent from thē to maintayn the fight, especially their shott (which in these vneuen places were of most seruice) were well pelted with our shott. Our men then pressing hard vpon thē made thē giue back: His Excie thē (seing the Victorie inclining on our side, caused the Battaille to advance, and his Horsemen to make a charge vpon the Ennemies. Vpon which fight the Ennemie (without attending any more blowes was routed, and chased out of the feild. In the last charge *Sr Francis Vere* followed not: for seing the successe vpon the Sands, & knowing that his directions in the prosecution of the Victorie would be executed, he easely gessed that the workes of that day were at an end, & therefore began to take care, and provide for himself, who all this while having bin vndressed, the blood leakeing from him at foure holes, together with a dangerous disease that had held him longe made him extreame weake and faint.

Our men followed the execution hard, euen into the Moorish grounds, as farre as the *Damme*, slew many of the Ennemy, and tooke a great many prisonners, among the rest in the first charge Captaine *Ball*, tooke *Iasper Sapena* before mentioned prisonner, and one of *Generall Veres* Companie tooke *Don Lewes de Villari Maestro del Campo* prisonner. The battell lasted aboute three howers in suspence, with the effusion of much bloode on both sides, sometimes the one side, otherwhiles on the other gayning, or loosing of ground. The *Archduke* himself escaped very narrowly, loosing in this battle aswell slaine, as prisonners the most part of the *Chieftes*, and Captaines of his Armie, and the Principall, Lords, Nobles, and Seruants of his Court, as these prisonners. *Don Francisco de Mendoza*, *Admirant of Arragon*, *Count Solues*, *Don Lewes de Villars Coronell*, *Don Lewes d'Avilla*, *Don Petro De Mendoza*, *Count Charles Rexin his Highnesse page*, *Doctor Andrew his Highnesse Physician*. *Don Iasper Maragon*. 35. Horse and Foote Companies, Lieutenants

*Lieutenants, Sarians, Dons, & Willeroes*, and others of more, to the number of 309. likewise his Ex<sup>c</sup>ie gott eight peeces of Ordinance & the two wee had lost in the morning. most of their Amunition, and Baggage, the furnit<sup>r</sup>e belonging to his highnesse Chamber, and *Cabinett*, his seale of armes, a hundred and sixe collours besides some Corners. There were slaine of the Archdukes side dead vpon the place where the Battle was fought some five thousand, besides those that were slaine vpon the execution & dyed afterward vpon their hurts, the greatest blow falling vpon the *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, who ventred most, & were fleshed with the morning Victorie. His Ex<sup>c</sup>ie with those that were lost in the morning had slaine betweene two and three thousand, whereof the greatest losse fell vpon the *English*, having some 800 of them slaine & hurt, Seuen English Captaines were slaine in the feild, Captaine *Yaxely*, *Hunniwood*, *Tyrrill*, *Duxborrow*, *Pirton*, & *Woodward*, *S<sup>r</sup> Francis Vere* himself & all the rest of the Captaines (but two) hurt, and the most part of the inferiour Officers either slaine or hurt. There were also three of our horse Captaines slaine, three French Captaines a *Walloon* Captaine, & a *Dutch* Captaine, besides diuers Lieutenants, Ensignes, & Sarians.

Night comming on, his Ex<sup>c</sup>ie marched with his Victorious Armie to the Church of *Wessend*, where he quartered that night, the *Admirant of Arragon*, and some others of their Commanders being at supper with the Prince (because the Ennemie had bragged heretofore) that our men were good *Spade-men*, but durst not fight a sett battell in the feild, asked the *Admirant*, and some of the Spanish *Dons*, & *Commandadours*, what they thought now of our *Fresh-water Souldiers* & whether they had not proued themselves in this daies actiō as good sword-men, as spade-mē, whereat the *Admirant* & the *Dons* smiled, but the *Admirant* amonge other Grave & wise speeches which came frō him, complayned much that their owne Horse had played the lades, and had not done their best endeavour, which if they had done, their foore which charged brauely, might haue become master of our Ordinance, Commending Prince *Maurice* much (of blessed memorie) that he had managed and husbanded the liues of his men so sparingly, against so great an Armie of ould beaten Souldiers, whereas they brought their men to fight by Phalenges & grosse bodies, which was the cause that our men brooke and routing them it breed such a confusion which caused their overthrow, and thus much briefly of the Battell of *Nieuport*, fought Anno 1600.

